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The Honorable H. Alexander Smith United States Senate Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Alex:

Reference is made to your letter of 7 March 1956 regarding Macao and Goa.

The Chinese Communists have made a number of public statements linking Macao and Goa, but these probably are mainly a reflection of Peiping's wish to cultivate Indian good will, in line with recent Communist efforts to establish good relations with "neutral" non-Communist countries.

Communist China is unequivocally committed to gain possession of Macao eventually, and India is similarly committed with respect to ultimate possession of Goa.

It is unlikely that a second Afro-Asian Conference will be held this summer.

The Columbo Powers-India, Pakistan, Eurma, Indonesia and Ceylon-were given the responsibility at Fandung of arranging a second conference. To date they have shown no interest in an early meeting.

Faithfully yours.

Allen W. Dulles Director

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United States Senate

8-0076

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

March 7, 1956

Dear Allen:

Can you give me any information that is not classified with regard to the following matter that has been called to my attention:

> "It is the intention of Red China to seize Macao and of India to seize Gao this summer. For this purpose Red China has been holding secret conferences with India. They may stage the seizures after the holding of a second Afro-Asiatic Conference."

Looking forward to seeing you soon and with kindest personal regards, I remain

Always cordially yours,

Cly I-

Mr. Allen W. Dulles Director Central Intelligence Agency Washington. D. C.

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## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

## OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

The Honorable H. Alexander Smith United States Senate Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Alex:

Reference is made to your letter of 7 March 1956 regarding Macao and Goa.

Communist China is unequivocally committed to gain possession of Macao eventually, and India is similarly committed with respect to ultimate possession of Goa. There is no evidence, however, of any agreement between Peiping and New Delhi to take military action against these Portuguese territories this summer or indeed at any specific time in the future.

The Chinese Communists have made a number of public statements linking Macao and Goa, but these probably are mainly a reflection of Peiping's wish to cultivate Indian good will, in line with recent Communist efforts to establish good relations with "neutral" non-Communist countries.

The information you received may have derived from the following circumstances:

- a. In the summer of 1955, Chinese Communist propaganda affirmed Peiping's support for the "Liberation" of Goa. Prime Minister Nehru was apparently gratified, and he later responded by declaring 'Macao will be returned to China; there is no question about that."
- b. In October 1955, Communist propaganda demanded that Portugal withdraw from Macao and asserted Peiping's "right to take back this piece of Chinese territory." At the same time, the propaganda stated that "the Chinese people have given active support to the Indian people in their demand to recover Goa from the Portuguese colonialists."

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- c. In a major policy address on 30 January 1956, Chinese Communist Premier Chou En-lai charged the U.S. with opposing self-determination for colonial peoples and observed that the "United States openly refers to India's Goa and China's Macao as 'provinces' of Portugal."
- d. Indian propaganda makes a great deal out of the fact that Goa must be returned. India shows no signs of letting go of Dadra and Nagar Aveli, small sections of Portuguese territory surrounded by Indian territory which were seized in mid 1954. India claims these enclaves are ruled by native villagers.

In any case, if Macao and Goa were going to be seized this summer, as your informant reports, the timing would have no connection with the holding of a second Afro-Asian Conference. A date in the summer of this year for a second conference seems highly improbable at this time. The Columbo Powers—India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon—were given the responsibility at Bandung of arranging a second conference. To date they have shown no interest in an early meeting.

Faithfully yours,

Director

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